584 serves the father of his betrothed as one of his own
583 family till the girl comes of age, when the marriage is consummated, and he becomes a partner in the general property of the family of his father-in-law."

582 A man may marry a girl belonging to the same
612 village as himself, if he and she are not members of the same exogamous sept. In most cases, however, all the
621 inhabitants of a village are of the same sept, and a man has to take as his wife a girl from a village other than his own.

583 Among all sections of the Badagas, adult marriage is the general rule, though infant marriage is also practised.
584 Marriage is preceded by a simple form of courtship, but the consent of the parents to the union is necessary. A girl does not suffer in reputation if she is rejected by a number of suitors, before she finally settles down.
• 585 Except among the Udayas, the marriage ceremony is of
[184] a very simple nature. A day or two before that fixed for taking the girl to the house of her husband-elect, the latter proceeds to her village, accompanied by his brothers, who, as a token of respect, touch the feet of all the Badagas who are assembled. The bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom, accompanied by the Kota band. Arrived there, she stands at the entrance, and her mother-in-law or sister-in-law brings water in a vessel, and pours it into her hands thrice. Each time she lets the water fall over her feet. The mother-in-law then ties round her neck a string of beads (māle mani), and leads her to the outer room (edumane), where cooked sāmai (*Panicum miliare*) and milk is given to her. This she pretends to eat, and the bridegroom's sister gives her water to wash her hands with. The bride and two married women or virgins (preferably the bridegroom's si ters) go to a stream in procession, accompanied by the

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585 Kota musicians, and bring therefrom water for cooking purposes in decorated new pots. The bride then salutes all her new relations, and they in turn give her their blessing. The ceremonial concludes with a feast, at the conclusion of which, in some cases, the bride and bridegroom sit on the raised verandah (pial), and receive presents.

181 "Though," a correspondent writes, "the Badaga is simple, and his wants are few, he cannot resist the temptation of wine and women. The Badaga woman 586 can change husbands as often as she pleases by a simple 587 system of divorce, and can also carry on with impunity (837) intimacy within the pale of her own community. It is not uncommon to find Badaga women changing husbands, so long as youth and vigour tempt them to do so, and confining themselves eventually to the last individual, after age and infirmity have made their mark, and render such frolics inexpedient." A former Magistrate of the 578 Nilgiris informs me that he tried more than one case, in 691 which a married man filed a complaint against another man for kidnapping or enticing away his wife for immoral purposes. The father of the woman was always charged as an abetter, and pleaded that, as no pariyam (bride price) had been paid by the husband, though he and the woman lived together as man and wife, no criminal offence could be proved against either the 595 father or the abductor. Polygamy is permitted, and the plurality of wives is a gain to the husband, as each wife becomes a bread-winner, and supports her children, and the man makes each wife superintend one depart- 587 ment of the day's work. Remarriage of widows is very common, and a widow may marry the brother of her 837 deceased husband. It is said to be etiquette among the Badagas that, when a woman's husband is away, she

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should be accessible to her brothers-in-law. Instances occur, in which the husband is much younger than his wife, who, until he has reached maturity, cohabits with her paternal aunt's son, or some one whom she may have a fancy for. The marriage ceremony of the Udayas is carried out on an elaborate scale, and is based on the type of ceremonial which is carried out by some castes in the plains. Before dawn on the marriage day, the brothers and cousins of the bridegroom go, accompanied by some Udayas and the Kota band, to the forest, whence they bring two sticks of *Mimusops hexandra*, to do duty as the milk-posts. The early hour is selected, to avoid the chance of coming across inauspicious objects. The sticks should be cut off the tree at a single stroke of the bill-hook, and they may not be laid flat on the ground, but placed on a blanket spread thereon. The Udayas, who joined in the procession, collect twelve posts of *Mimusops* as supports for the marriage booth (pandal). In front of the house, which is to be the scene of the wedding, two pits are dug, into which cow-dung water is poured. The pūjāri does pūja to the milk-posts by offering sugar-cane, jaggery (crude sugar), etc., and ties two threads thereto. The posts are then placed in the pits by five people—the parents of the bridal couple and the priest. The booth, and dais or enclosure, are then erected close to the milk-posts. On the second day, the bridegroom's party, attended by Kota musicians, dressed up in dancing costume, go to the house of the bride, where a feast is held. The bride then salutes a lamp, and prostrates herself at the feet of her parents, who bless her, saying "May your body and hands soon be filled (*i.e.*, may you have a child), and may your life be prosperous." The bride is taken in procession to the house of the bridegroom,

585 accompanied by some Udayas, and a Toreya carrying a bag of rice. At the entrance to the house she is blindfolded, and her mother-in-law pours water over her feet, and waves coloured water (ārathi) in front of her. She then enters the house, right foot foremost, and sits on a mat. Three married women, nearly related to the bridegroom, proceed, with the Kota musicians, to a stream, carrying three pots decorated with leaves of *Leucas aspera*. The priest does pūja, and the pots are filled with water, and brought back in procession to the marriage dais. The water is poured into three vessels placed thereon three times by each of the three women. Within the marriage enclosure, two raised platforms are set up by a Toreya. The bridegroom, after going round the enclosure three times with his brothers and sisters, enters it, and bathes with the water contained in the vessels. He then dresses himself in new clothes, and is carried to the outer room by his maternal uncle. The bride is then treated in like manner, but is taken to the inner room. At a fixed auspicious hour, the bridal couple repair to the enclosure, where the bridegroom stands on a mat. A screen is held up by four or five men between him and the bride, who stands facing him, while the priest ties the ends of their clothes together. They then link their little fingers together, the screen is removed, and they seat themselves on the mat. The bridegroom's sister brings a tray with a mass of rice scooped out into a cavity to hold ghī for feeding a lighted wick (annadha ārathi) on it, and, placing it before the bridal pair, sits down. The tāli, consisting of a golden disc, is worshipped by the priest, and given to the bridegroom, who ties it on to the bride's neck. In some places it is tied by four or five elders, belonging to different villages, who are not widowers. The contracting

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585 couple then put on wreaths called sammandha mālai, or wreaths establishing relationship, and the wrist threads are tied on. The bride's sister brings some rice and milk in a cup, into which the linked fingers of the bride and bridegroom are thrust. Taking up some of the rice, they put it into each other's mouths three times. After they have washed their hands, the maternal uncle or priest asks them if they have seen Aranjoti (the pole-star), and they reply in the affirmative. On the third day, presents are given to the newly-married couple, and the wrist threads are removed. Going to a stream, they perform a mimic ceremony of sowing, and scatter cotton and rice seed in two small pans made by a Toreya with
587 cow-dung. Widow remarriage is permitted among the Udayas, and a widow may marry a cousin, but not her
585 dead husband's brother. At the marriage ceremony, a priest makes a mark with sacred ashes on the foreheads of the contracting couple, and announces the fact of their union.

428 It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that, as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the
(593) house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is
(888) the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents, and support them as long as they live, and, when they die, he continues to live in the paternal home, of which he becomes the owner."

843 A ceremony is performed in the seventh month of a
(585) woman's first pregnancy, which is important, inasmuch
(586) as it seals the marriage contract, and, after its perform-

843 ance, divorce can only be obtained through the decree
(585) of the panchāyat (tribal council). Moreover, if it has not
(586) been performed, a man cannot claim the paternity of the child. The ceremony is called kanni kattodu or kanni hākodu (thread tying or throwing). The husband and wife are seated in the midst of those who have assembled for the occasion, and the former asks his father-in-law whether he may throw the thread round his wife's neck, and, having received permission, proceeds to do so. If he gets the thread, which must have no knots in it, entangled in the woman's bunch of hair (kondai), which is made large for the occasion by the addition of false
(783) hair, he is fined three rupees. On the day of the ceremony, the man and his wife are supposed to be under pollution, and sit in the verandah to receive presents. The mats used by them for sleeping on are cleaned on the following morning, and they get rid of the pollution by bathing.

843 A first confinement must not take place within the
846 house, and the verandah is converted into a lying-in
783 chamber, from which the woman is, after delivery,
821 removed to the outer apartment, where she remains till she is free from pollution by catching sight of the crescent moon. If a woman has been delivered at her
846 father's house, she returns to the home of her husband
(777) within a month of the birth of the child on an auspicious
851 day. On arrival there, the infant is placed near the feet of an old man standing by a lamp within the milk-house. Placing his right hand over the head of the infant, the old man blesses it, and a feast is held, before the commencement of which two cups, one containing milk, and the other cooked rice, are produced. All the relations take up a little of the milk and rice, and touch the tongue of the baby with them.

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If the deceased was a vegetarian male of the Lingayat sect a small hoe is brought instead, and this has to be used for the first strokes in digging the grave.[11] This hoe is carried anticlockwise once around the catafalque on the head of a near male relative of the deceased and is then kept underneath the corpse with other presents.[12] If the deceased were a woman the Kota partner will bring two toe-rings, one for each second toe of the corpse. In the last century the Kotas also provided a dead woman with a pounding-stick (Metz, 1864, 77); today a rough one is made by her relatives instead.

The Kota partner is often requested to supply a band of musicians for a Badaga wedding if this is to be a public one. (Many weddings are held privately, 'within the family circle', to save expenses; in which case the Kota may still come, but without musicians.) At a large-scale marriage their services may be required for several days; but while the attendance of Kotas at a funeral is imperative, it is for the groom's family to decide whether to have them at his wedding. The Kota partner may also be invited to a naming or an ear-piercing ceremony and should certainly be asked to a bull-castration.

In the early years of this century the Kota man would receive from his Badaga partner a total of two rupees or its equivalent for each day the band played at any ceremony. It is now common for less than a complete band of eight musicians to attend; but each bandsman is fed and receives five rupees a day, even more if the donor is wealthy. The Kota partner, however, gets nothing for the gifts that he must bring to a funeral.

In each commune the Badagas are supposed to hold a massive memorial ceremony whenever one generation level has altogether died out, or else when sixty years have elapsed since the previous ceremony. These events begin on a Sunday and last for eight days, during which many thousands of Badagas from all over the plateau may attend. On these rare occasions the Badaga headman informs the headman of at least the nearest Kota village (indeed, he has to seek that Kota's permission), and he arranges for all the men and boys of that village to play music at the ceremony. For this purpose the Kotas divide themselves into numerous bands of eight men each and thus the dance music can be kept going day and night for the entire period, with several of the groups playing simultaneously. At the end of the ceremony these Kotas all lead the memorial procession to the cremation ground, where a cot is

ness 1832: 42). It was also reported that some young men of dubious virtue were noted for the frequency with which they walked away (Francis 1908: 131-32).

Such freedom no longer finds parental connivance, and today a girl is expected to be a virgin at marriage. She may continue to be one for some time afterwards too, for it is usually the mothers of the couple who decide when to "send them to the bed-house," as the euphemism goes. No such restrictions occur for a woman who has already been married before, and in one reported instance such a bride actually took the initiative on the first night by fondling her previously impotent groom until he was able to do what was expected of him.

In earlier times, a reliable informant estimated, a mere one or two per cent of men had relations with their brides prior to marriage, and this was because girls were married at about puberty. He also estimated that perhaps ten per cent of bridegrooms had had sexual relations before marriage with girls other than their brides. Another man who was married in 1930 asserted that his 12-year old bride lacked a hymen, but did not reach menarche until two months after marriage. This and similar anecdotes do at least suggest girls used to become sexually active around the age of 12; female education has probably elevated this age somewhat (but on the other hand it is not uncommon for young virgins to lack a hymen). In earlier times it used to be fairly common for girls of the well-to-do gentry families to marry as young as at 10 or 11 years. They tended to be well-fed and well-built girls, but menarche had not yet occurred. For the sake of form nonetheless such a bride would spend the usual five days in the menstrual hut prior to her wedding.

3.9. When the couple are especially young the boy's parents may place all sorts of barriers in the way of their consummating the marriage. This is common, and generally because the parents want the girl to work but not have children yet. Needless to say, the resourceful couple can outwit the parents in this matter, for example by an afternoon meeting while the rest of the household is out working in the fields. A more leisurely ruse is for the young husband to send his wife away to visit her father, and then to follow her after a short time. Since a bride is not supposed to do any work while visiting her parents, and since her husband is always welcome in their home, the couple will have plenty of time alone together while the rest of the family is working outside the house. And many Badaga villages have dense forest nearby.

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585 826 It is believed that if a newly married girl has an itching sensation in the vagina while visiting her father's house, her husband will come to her the next night. Similarly, if a young husband is away from his wife, for example while grazing buffaloes, and he has an involuntary erection, this means that he will enjoy his wife within a day or two.

585 841 Sometimes a wedding is postponed a few days if the bride has a menstrual period immediately before the planned date. This is not because of the probable inconvenience at consummation, but simply because she cannot be allowed into the house until seven days after her period owing to a pollution taboo. And as we have suggested, a bride generally does not sleep with her husband immediately. She is made to sleep with other children in the family or other members of the household until her next period. Only then will the consummation occur, because the parents may want to make sure the girl was not pregnant prior to the wedding. Otherwise if they are quite certain she had a period a week or two before the wedding, and she is considered old enough, the parents may permit the consummation quickly. Even so, it is usually impossible for the bride to be deflowered until the third night because she is busy with a ceremonial visit to her own father's house and village, or with those relatives who are still visiting her. On the fourth evening however it may be possible to put the couple in a separate room or another house—a widow's house is easily vacated for this purpose. The groom goes to this "bed-house" after supper and waits there while some women persuade the bride to go and join him. Usually she is shy, and even if she is eager to go she pretends to be shy. When the shyness is genuine it is because the marriage has been arranged, and the bride does not know how her husband will behave. Some girls, and even the occasional youth, are so ignorant about things that they do not know why they are being sent off to a separate room together. Such an awkward situation can soon lead to divorce, or to further sexual training: an informant explained how he was asked (by his wife) to have a gentle intercourse with his wife's newly married sister, since she had been terrified on the night of the consummation. In general, if a newlywed husband or wife expresses fear of this event, an old woman crushes the leaf of the cockspur flower and makes the person swallow it in milk or water beforehand: this cures the fear.

585 586 864 835 755

881 826 Badagas believe the hymen exists only until puberty, when it is automatically ruptured by the first menses. (A few girls do not mens-

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truate, I was told, until 18 or 19, long after they have married.) Husbands thus attach little importance to presence or absence of a hymen. A bride is nonetheless supposed to be a virgin on her first marriage, and so on the morning after her defloration her parents-in-law look for a bloodstain on the bed. If she is not in fact a virgin one of the couple will usually draw a little blood from some part of the body so as to make a stain. Whether or not the groom is responsible for her previous loss of virginity he will want a bloodstain to be found, for otherwise his parents may think he has fallen in love with a loose, unworthy girl. Badagas proverbially take a dim view of young women: "A young ox and a young girl are both inconstant: do not trust them" (Metz 1864: 94).

They have a kind of second wedding ceremony, held at about the seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy. The sexual aspect of this second ceremony is that on the following night the couple are supposed to sleep together and have intercourse. While the pregnant girl is not impure at the time of the actual ceremony, both she and her husband are considered so on the following morning. It is a ritual requirement that she carry all of their bedding to some stream, but not the usual water source, and wash it clean.

3.10. Badaga men, and less commonly women, can get a disease called *kanne no:* ("first sickness"), which is caused either by a young man's first sexual experience or by too much sexual activity in his early married years. It is a relatively rare illness, recognizable from the face and the accompanying fever. A patient is served only "cooling" foods till he recovers; he rests at home, and is also given *kodangu soppu* (made from velvety patchouli, etc.) as for any fever. The parents stop the couple from sleeping together for the time being; until fully recovered the patient will be permitted little or no coitus by his elders. This illness is said to be quite dangerous, whereas "too little" intercourse is not thought to have any bad effect on the body.

Menstrual Practices

3.11. Badaga therapists do not know why menstruation occurs, and simply attribute it to God's will. The intervals can vary, I was told, from 16 to 40 days, tending to be shorter in fat women. Among young women menses occurs every 18, 19 or 20 days, with 22 days as perhaps the maximum. With older women the period comes on

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month, or else have a difficult delivery during the ninth month and produce a lean, unhealthy baby. 843

If the woman's eyes turn red, she gets diarrhoea, feels uneasy, and her lips are itchy, these signs indicate that she indeed has too much "heat" in the body, and that she is not having food regularly or in enough quantity. If there is a lot of "heat" she will have heartburn before or after meals, and will cough; but the excess "heat" can only be noticed by any of these signs, not by feeling the actual temperature of the body.

The "heat" can be reduced by feeding the patient buttermilk or butter. In an extreme case she can be given a special mixture. [272] Lime juice is put in a pot, and buffalo milk is milked directly from the animal onto the juice, and then drunk immediately. (Cow's milk can be used instead, but is not so effective.) This drink is given to her every morning for two or three weeks, before she takes any food.

In the fourth, sixth and seventh months the woman can be carefree. In even numbered months, the fourth, sixth and eighth, she may cross the hamlet boundary and visit her father's house, provided she does not stay there overnight. In odd-numbered months, the fifth, seventh and ninth, she can stay there overnight.

4.4. At an odd-numbered month, generally the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy only, she and her husband go through a ceremony that confirms their marriage. This occurs on a day after the new moon and before the full moon; it must be an auspicious day—a Monday, Friday, Wednesday or Sunday, in that order of preference. Although no mention is made of the pregnancy, everyone is aware that it has led to a stable marriage and the woman is no longer a mere servant of the man: "For the woman without children there is no house; for the man without an ox there is no place" (Verghese 1963: 422). Hence the ceremony: 843 585 851 [777] [581] [539]

> . . . it seals the marriage contract, and, after its performance, divorce can only be obtained through the decree of the panchāyat (tribal council). Moreover, if it has not been performed, a man cannot claim the paternity of the child . . . The husband and wife are seated in the midst of those assembled . . . and the former asks his father-in-law whether he may throw the thread round his wife's neck, and, having received permission, proceeds to do so . . . On the day of the ceremony, the man

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843 585 851 and his wife are supposed to be under pollution, and sit in the verandah to receive presents. The mats used by them for sleeping on are cleaned on the following morning, and they get rid of the pollution by bathing. (Thurston 1909: 108-09)

(833) It is reported that the couple sleep side by side on this night, with a stick between them to symbolize the coming child, and they are supposed to have intercourse. This however is considered a more dangerous act in the fifth than in the seventh month.

In the unfortunate event that this ceremony is not performed before labour begins, the nude woman is covered with a cloth while her husband ties the turmeric-coloured thread around her neck. (The cloth simply saves the woman from some embarrasment.) If the thread is not tied before her delivery, it signifies that the woman has no husband.

843 757 4.5. From tbe seventh month onwards the foetus may get a limb tangled or be in the wrong position, and then the mother feels some lassitude and cannot work. One of the few old ladies who have the skill will then massage the woman's stomach till the foetus is back in the regular position. The massage isdone with the help of oil poured on the stomach. This oil used to come from the nuts of the castor-oil plant; but nowadays ground-nut oil is used, or else coconut oil sometimes. This massage can only be done in the seventh or ninth month, for the stomach should not be touched in the eighth month at all. Neverthless an old, highly experienced woman may do the massage in that month, but still with trepidation.

843 There is in fact a saying which translates : "In the fifth month the child will say, 'Shall I come out or shall I stay inside?' " Another states: "In the eighth month he will make a place for himself," it being implied that the foetus will be aborted then if it is not comfortable. The foetus can possibly get out of position when the woman walks or gets into bed. Hence another Badaga saying: "During pregnancy be careful about the legs; during the milk-giving time [i.e. until the child is weaned] be careful about the mouth." "Legs" refer to the woman's movements. She must be careful about the "mouth," i.e. her diet, because that food will be transmitted to the baby through her breast milk.

The woman may do whatever she wants, and is given whatever she asks for, in the ninth month. She is usually at her father's

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846 807 783 nine or 15 days she might begin to work in the house again (Jagor 1876: 199). Earlier yet, for her first birth, a woman would stay in the pollution hut until the next waning of the moon. In later confinements she would remain in the hut for only three days (Birch 1838: 104). The mother of twins, even if poor, should however 845 854 stay at home looking after them for at least three months, without doing any outside work.

846 [539] [777] [801] "A girl who has delivered is a good sight; a field with good crops is a good sight," according to one proverb. Within a month of the birth, on an auspicious day, mother and child return to her husband's house. The party must number (including both of them) at least five persons, and must be of an odd number unless it exceeds 21.

846 788 On arrival there, the infant is placed near the feet of an old man standing by a lamp within the milk-house. Placing his right hand over the head of the infant, the old man blesses it, and a feast is held, before the commencement of which two cups, one containing milk, and the other cooked rice, are produced. All the relations take up a little of the rice and milk, and touch the tongue of the baby with them. (Thurston 1909:109)

843 585 851 If a woman becomes pregnant for the twentieth time by the same husband (a previous marriage does not count), then, whether all the offspring are living or not, the couple go right through the wedding and seventh-month-of-pregnancy ceremonies again. These are performed on a lavish scale, even if the husband has to borrow substantially.

The Form and Sex of the Child

858 539 4.14. A proverb asks, "If a mother gives birth to a male child, will the father object to it?" Obviously he will not, since it is a blessing to the family (Verghese 1963: 420). The same idea is also expressed thus: "By delivering a son she is like a prima donna standing on a vantage point and calling out;" or "The man who has begotten a son and the man who has planted a coconut [tree] will not spoil." Another saying puts it quite succinctly: "A strong boy, a weak girl;" and yet another emphasizes that girl babies are not much wanted: "Even though you repeatedly tell her, she is

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"bad wind" unless the death occurred in her own home. The effect of a "bad wind" the woman has encountered can also be felt by her baby or transmitted through the milk to her baby, and then it will make him sick.

One or two days after a wedding the bride, by this time perhaps no longer a virgin, returns on a belief ceremonial visit to her parents' home. As she enters the village the woman accompanying her calls out for people to keep infants and nursing mothers out of sight. The bride can set eyes on unweaned infants, but their parents must make sure that neither the children themselves nor their mothers see the girl, lest their milk dry up by reason of the "bad wind" associated with the girl's recent sexual activity. Were a nursing mother to see the bride she would probably curse her, and this could cause infertility in the latter.

More generally it is felt that the most dangerous "bad wind" would be one associated with a person who came to look at the baby just after having had intercourse. Such a person should first take a bath, then put on some clean clothes and wait at least half-an-hour. In the same way if an apparently pure man comes to visit a baby and he has travelled more than a mile he will bring a "bad wind" with him. He should therefore wait in the yard or on the veranda for a short time before entering the house. In this situation the mother would even wait the appropriate amount of time before bowing to his hand if the visitor were her own father. If a nursing mother is obliged to be near a corpse, she also will take a bath and change afterwards before going near her baby. Should an unweaned baby die all other nursing mothers in the village and neighbouring hamlets are expected to visit the bereaved house before the next sunset. They ask the unfortunate mother how she is feeling. Badagas believe that if any nursing mother who was inregular contact with this woman failed to observe this common courtesy, her own infant would soon become ill. And if such a woman nonetheless does fail to visit she must not set eyes on the bereaved mother again until after the next new or the next full moon. This is said to be because the latter might become envious on seeing the other mother nursing, and her sorrow would somehow affect that woman. The nursing mother who failed in this customary courtesy would be afraid that her breasts would dry up, should she meet the bereaved woman shortly after burial of the dead child.

118 little, changing criteria in marriage arrangements have nevertheless made a pro-
583 found impact. The appearance of dowry transactions in a society which previously demanded only a type of bride-price is the most outstanding instance of a whole complex of changing criteria.

583 [584] In arranging a marriage, the boy's family always pays honnu to the girl's family before the wedding. Honnu thus has the character of a bride-price; but this is not a good English translation for the term. Today the honnu is two hundred rupees; in the 1930's and 1940's it was Rs. 150 (Ranga 1934: 3; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 250); at the beginning of this century it was about Rs. 100 (Tignous 1911: 119); early in the last century it was "on an average between twenty and twenty-five rupees" (Harkness 1832: 42), or "15 to 20 rupees" (Ward 1821: lxxi). (458) With rising prices the honnu has also been increasing steadily; yet it is not really thought of as a bride-price at all. The Badagas are explicit that the money is to 583 be spent on gold ornaments with which to bedeck the bride when she leaves her 585 own home to join her new husband; for without certain customary ornaments the marriage cannot be performed. Thus the groom's family ensure that the celebration 586 will go ahead by supplying the cost of these gold ornaments. At a later time, if divorce occurs, the wife has to return to her husband the ornaments or the Rs. 200, together with any other "gifts" of clothing or jewelry that he may have made (Harkness 1832: 116-17; Metz 1864: 86-87; Thurston 1909: I, 105-06; Tignous 1911: 119).

583 The system of paying honnu still continues, but dowry has become an additional requirement in some recent marriages. The general reason for this is that young Badaga men show much greater variation both in their family's wealth (582) and in their own potentiality to earn than was true prior to this century. In earlier

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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house every day, and all the girls of the village assemble there, cook and eat together. On the morning of the next full-moon day she bathes, receives again a new cloth from her parents and sits outside the house till the hour when the moon rises in the evening. When she sees the moon appear above the horizon she enters her house. Five old females accompany her and conduct her into the house, where the mother standing at the threshold thus welcomes her daughter back, saying,—

Gaṇḍettu, makkettu, mane kaṭṭi sukhavâgi badu-kammâ baḍuku, meaning:—May you, my darling, soon receive a husband, bring forth a son, build your own house and live happy.

The mother now gives her a dish containing rice, milk and curds. This is done in the outer house, for the girl is all this time only at the threshold and has not yet entered the inner house. After eating a little of what has been given her by her mother she has to proceed to every house in the village, the eldest female member of which pronounces upon her the same blessing and gives her the same dish to eat. She receives these and pretends to eat a mouthful in every house and then returns home. The mother now stands waiting anxiously her daughter's return. She takes her girl in, and now the pots and other utensils of the family may be touched. This closes this ceremony, the only one that a woman has to undergo before her marriage, and a few days after it is performed the mark which proclaims to the whole Baḍaga world that the girl is of a marriageable age is put on her forehead. It consists of four different dots, thus:—

It is called technically among them *Hasil-hâkuleadu*, meaning tatooing the head, but I have not been able to find any one who could explain to me the meaning of these dots. I surmise that they are the end marks of a trident, the favourite weapon of Śiva. As soon as this mark is put upon a girl's forehead it is a caste proclamation, as it were, that any one may claim her hand in marriage, and that the young Baḍaga in search of a wife may pay a visit to her father's house.

In the Uḍaya class there is nothing of the nature of courtship, but the father settles the bride or bridegroom for his child. The girl to be married is brought to the village in which the boy chosen

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lives, and is kept in a separate house. A good day is fixed for the marriage. Pandals are erected, grand preparations go on and the marriage takes place in the regular way that we shall describe presently. Among all the other Badagas what may be called courtship prevails. Child marriages never take place among Badagas, though, as we have seen, a child is often bespoken for marriage from the very day of its birth.

In the other Badaga castes the parents have nothing to do in the preliminary arrangements of a marriage settlement. The young Badaga leaving home always takes a friend with him when going out in search of a wife. He has to observe certain omens on his way to the girl's house. The sight of flesh or an empty pot or a single jackal is always considered a bad omen. Filled pots or a pair of jackals coming from an opposite direction is considered a good omen, indicating a happy union. Thus the way and the nature of the omens are the first points to be observed, and to see that the anxious young man in search of a wife does not ignore these facts, a friend, but really a spy, tracks him to the house of the girl whom he intends to ask to marry him. The parents or the other elder relatives of the girl understand from the presents which the youth brings, and from the friend by whom he is accompanied, that he has come in search of a wife, and they leave the young pair to meet and be happy in each other's company. The young man spends four or five days there, and if the girl is to his liking he temporarily takes leave of his future wife's relations and returns home in haste to complete the marriage arrangements. If the pair do not like each other, that they shall never marry each other is settled then and there, and that is the end of it.

When they like each other, the young man, as we have seen, returns to his parents, and sends them, or some other elder relatives if his parents are not alive, to settle the marriage. These proceed to the girl's house and falling at the feet of the parents of the girl request them to give her in marriage to their son. Generally the mother of the boy asks her future daughter-in-law whether she will marry her son and tells her that she has plenty to eat or as she would put it—*Timbadu nimgénu koravillá*. The girl respectfully replies that she will do as her parents order, and, though she has almost always been carefully tutored up, her answer appears to be given in an extremely natural and simple manner.

A day is then fixed, and the marriage is always performed in the bridegroom's house. Five, nine or thirteen women relatives

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585 of the girl with twenty-five male relatives bring the girl to the future husband's village on the day appointed for the marriage. Three or five women related to the bridegroom receive her. The girl stands opposite to the house of the bridegroom. An elderly lady of the bridegroom's family brings from inside the house two big pots. One she keeps to herself and the other she gives to the girl. (418) All the while the Torayas and Kôṭas who are the mighty musicians of the occasion play music without cessation, and to the accompaniment of this melody they all proceed to the river. Both the pots are filled with water, and the elderly woman and the young would-be wife enter the bridegroom's house with water, while music is incessantly pouring out from the heavy pipes of the Kôṭa musicians and the mouths of the Baḍaga females. The pots are placed inside in the central room, and then the girl falls at the feet of every one assembled there to take part in the marriage ceremonies and she becomes from that day forward a member of that house. The elderly lady by taking her out to the river to fetch water has taught her as it were her household duties in her future husband's house. Before the wife is brought down from her parents' house a small fee, called generally the cloth fee,—*Śila-haṇé*—which is five fanams or 1¼ Rupees is given, together with her price which may be a pretty large amount, varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 according to the qualifications of the girl as a good labouring woman in the field. A feast is celebrated in the house on the marriage day at which all people assembled there sit down to eat. This is the whole ceremony of the Baḍaga marriage and the feast closes it. (301) Sometimes a marriage badge—especially among the Uḍaya class—is tied round the neck of the bride. It consists of a gold medal containing the representations of Śiva and Pârvati.

(584) The tie thus formed, however, is not of an absolutely binding nature, for though the young pair now begin to live as husband and wife they may separate at any moment after the marriage described above, provided the *Śila-haṇé* or cloth fee, and the price for the wife originally paid, are returned to the husband. No present or anything to show good relationship is made by the wife's parents to the husband or *vice versâ*, till the wife is about to become a mother. Then a ceremony is performed which is called *Simanta*. This name is a pure Âryan one and the Baḍagas must have borrowed it from the high caste Hindus. This ceremony which is called *Simanta* goes also by another more significant name of *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭêḍu* among the Baḍagas, meaning the ceremony of the tying of the cord

round the neck of the woman. It is not merely a cord but the very marriage badge strung to the cord which is tied; even if she has had it tied round her neck on the occasion of the marriage ceremony she must now have it tied on again on the *Kappi-kattódu* occasion, and this latter alone is the true marriage badge. It is on this occasion that the bridegroom receives presents from his wife's people, which generally consist of a house, a pair of he-buffaloes and a pair of she-buffaloes. The last two must be given by even the poorest Badaga father-in-law. Whether the young couple receive a house and a larger number of buffaloes than the single pair that must be given depends upon the position and wealth of the father of the bride.

This ceremony of the *Kappi-kattódu* is very curious though extremely simple. The relations of both sides are seated and the pair sit in their midst while of course the Kôta and Toraya music is going on. The eldest relation, father or brother of the husband, gets up and says:—*Kappi hâkalâ nenta hâkalâ*, meaning:—May the string be thrown round the neck; may it be thrown? And the other side reply:—*Hâkappâ hâku*—Throw, sir, throw. Then the cord is passed round and the ceremony of the *Kappi-kattódu* is closed with a feast.

After the celebration of this ceremony the husband and wife cannot separate of their own accord without going to the divorce-court in their village, an institution of which we shall speak later on. Thus this is the most important ceremony in the Badaga society and it is full of meaning. In a community where the relationship between the sexes is very lax there is little or no guarantee that the marriage tie will be regarded as binding. But when the wife is soon to become a mother it becomes necessary for her position as the female representative of the family to be recognised. Thus much importance attaches to the *Kappi-kattódu* ceremony, and once it is performed the woman cannot leave her husband as lightly as she might after the marriage and before it was performed. Previously she might have done so of her own accord; but now only the community represented in a court can dissolve the marriage. In my next article I shall show the importance of these village councils and describe the part they play in the life of the community, and then I shall give an account of the funeral rites of these interesting people.

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